4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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142
291
301
756
276
786
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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sexta diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se ele cair.

A young shaman, in a trancé state, as he makes the village circuit during the day sessions of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Cairá antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

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177
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco, e prestes a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, cairá antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando ao redor do círculo da aldeia.

Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

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Fig. 6

Ele expira. Seus ríjidos e cáis pesa a besta, sendo apoiado pelos dois espectadores que o guiavam.

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

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Fig. 7

O poderoso pajé Urukumã era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukuma, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

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Fig. 8

Ele era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi atingido pelas armas do Trovão, os jovens estavam prontos para ampará-lo ao cair.

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caía inconsciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam rápidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do círculo da aldeia. Nesta ocasião, a esposa de Kamairabo estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe o face.

Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairabo's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 10

O corpo do morto dos pagés ficava rígido, quando, em estado de inconsciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam facilmente o corpo rígido de Pantori, um dos poderosos pagés, após. ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Pantori, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

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Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Pauxeri.

The same young men carrying Pauxeri.

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THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder 796 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. [821] Kanawana lives in his house at Marateawa surrounded by his various [175] supernaturaries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans [176] (*pancé-tánawera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pancé tánawera*, and finally, *topí* (28).

Topí are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topí* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

796 Each year in approximately late December and January, when 821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topí's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-tánawera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi- [176] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topí's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topí* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word extended as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who made the thunder and lightning. *Tupan* was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 53-56, Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topí* are merely creatures of Thunder.

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796 accompanying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [534] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts: he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikutwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth in the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *panté-ãnewera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *topi* and *panté-*
tánowera to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
[533] accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Panteri stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
796 me that he had seen *panté-tánowera* sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *topi*. He moved
backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the sidelines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Panteri, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Panteri had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panté-tánowera* and many *topi* in the house", one of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Panteri and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the patters of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occured then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a pha man waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a tapi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tapi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tapi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder: he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world: he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pantori grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *paxié-tãwãra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pantori walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *anãnga nawã*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late